

The

AMERICAN

RATIONALIST

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• THE MAGAZINE FOR ALL RATIONALISTS . . . ORGANIZATIONAL NEWS . . . READERS' FORUM . . . BOOK REVIEWS

VATICAN HOPES

a pertinent article
by a prominent
Italian political
scientist and
economist

Prof. ERNESTO ROSSI



A rational approach featuring faith in Man, his power to solve his own problems, and his ability to build a better world for a glorious future.

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THE AMERICAN

RATIONALIST

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Confidentially Speaking



It is with mixed feelings that I write my first editorial for the "American Rationalist." Perhaps the most deeply felt is that of regret, regret that Dr. Lowell H. Coate is unable to continue his splendid and inspirational work as editor of our growing and steadily improving magazine. I only hope that I shall be able to live up to the example he set in his two years at the helm. Then, naturally, I look forward with excited expectancy to the challenges and opportunities offered by the editorship of the journal so well launched and guided by Arthur Hewson and Lowell Coate, and so well assisted and supported by our writers and friends, who will, I hope, continue to aid the "Rationalist" with their invaluable comments, suggestions, criticisms and contributions (literary and otherwise). I am happy, too, that Dr. Coate and Mr. Hewson will continue their association with the magazine, though in a less active capacity, for their encouragement and help will go a long way toward enabling your new editor to guide the "Rationalist" along the road to greater influence, effectiveness and service to the very highest ideals of Rationalism-Humanism.

The "Rationalist," under my editorship, will avoid being merely a "house organ" for already convinced Rationalists, and will also avoid being a mere carbon copy of other publications in the Freethought, Humanist and liberal field. Rather, we will continue to develop and perfect a unique magazine devoted to the following general functions: 1.) combating all forms of tyranny over the minds and bodies of all humans, 2.) exposing and combating supernaturalism and other forms of irrationality, and their pernicious effects, 3.) exploring, proposing and promoting rational, scientific and democratic approaches and solutions to social problems, and 4.) providing informative news columns and forums for the use and benefit of all individuals and organizations which share our basic Rationalist-Humanist outlook and world-view. In this task, we appreciate and request the active participation and assistance of all our readers, without which we cannot succeed.

EDD DOERR, Editor.

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Litany For Modern Man

by NORMAN COUSINS
Editor of Saturday Review

I am a single cell in a body of two billion cells. The body is mankind.

I glory in the individuality of self but my individuality does not separate me from my universal self — the oneness of man.

My memory is personal and finite but my substance is boundless and infinite.

The portion of that substance that is mine was not devised; it was renewed.

I do not believe that humankind is an excrescence or a machine, or that the myriads of solar systems and galaxies in the universe lack order or sanction.

I may not embrace or command this universal order but I can be at one with it — for I am of it.

I see no separation between the universal order and the moral order.

I believe that the expansion of knowledge makes for an expansion of faith in Man, and the widening of the horizons of mind for a widening of belief. My reason nourishes my faith and my faith my reason.

I am not diminished by the growth of knowledge but by the denial of it.

I am not oppressed by, nor do I shrink before the apparent boundaries in life or the lack of boundaries in cosmos.

Without a belief in human dignity I am hungry and incomplete.

Human unity is the fulfillment of diversity. It is the many-stranded texture with color and depth.

The sense of human unity makes possible a reverence for life.

Reverence for life is more than solicitude or sensitivity for life. It is a sense of the whole, a capacity for wonder, a respect for the intricate universe of individual life. It is the supreme awareness of awareness itself. It is pride in being.

I am a single cell. My needs are individual but they are not unique.

When I enter my home I enter with the awareness that my roof can only be half built and my table only half set, for half the men on this earth know the emptiness of want.

When I walk through the streets of my city, I walk with the awareness of the shattered cities beyond number that comprise the dominant reality.

When I think of peace, I can know no peace until the peace is real.

My dedication, therefore, is to the cause of Man in the attainment of that which is within the reach of Man.

I will work for human unity under a purposeful peace. I will work for the growth of a moral order that is in keeping with the universal order.

In this way do I affirm faith in life.

I am a single cell in a body of two billion cells. The body is mankind.

—Peace Literature Service.

Vatican Hopes

by ERNESTO ROSSI

The following is the text of an address delivered by Professor Rossi at a meeting in the Eliseo Theatre in Rome on June 11, 1960. We reprint this significant contribution to the literature of church-state relations by special arrangement with "La Parola del Popolo", an Italian language labor magazine published bi-monthly in Chicago, in the August-September 1960 issue of which Professor Rossi's address first appeared in print.

Professor Rossi was teaching at Bergamo College in 1930 when he was arrested by Mussolini's gangsters and sentenced to twenty years in prison. Following his liberation in 1943, he participated actively in the Resistance movement. Since the war he has achieved prominence in Italy as a journalist and orator. Among his numerous published books are "Agrarian Reform," "A Critique of Syndicalism," "The Industrial State," "Problems of European Federation," and "The Fight Against Monopolies."

The reader might note that the "Osservatore Romano" article mentioned by Prof. Rossi in his first paragraph was quoted rather extensively in your editor's "Passing Parade" column in the September-October 1960 issue of the "American Rationalist."

— The Editor

"Taccuino," a news and views column in the weekly "Mondo," has informed us of the reaction of the American press to the article "Punti Fermi" (Standpoints) published in the "Osservatore Romano" in connection with Catholic Senator Kennedy's campaign for the presidency of the United States. The weekly writes as follows:

"The readers of the 'New York Times,' the 'New York Herald Tribune,' the 'Christian Science Monitor' and of the newspapers of the Hearst chain have begun to storm their editors with letters of protest and warning. The tenor of the majority of these letters makes it clear that no one in America is really aware of the true nature of the danger of the Church to a State — hence the alarm. Many letters protested against those newspapers which have hitherto failed to enlighten public opinion concerning this—let us say—characteristic of the Catholic Church. Up to now the American press correspondents in Rome, have, in effect, restricted themselves to praise of the doings of the Popes, whether it be Pius XII or the reigning Pope, John XXIII, since they consider their doings most useful in the general battle against communism. However, no Rome correspondent of the great U.S. press has ever taken the trouble to make known the price that a civil State must pay for this noisy anticommunist campaign conducted by an interfering and overbearing episcopate, so much so that the average American has come to regard the Pope only as a convenient ally of the free world."

The Catholic Church in America — writes

"Mondo" — being a Church which represents a minority, and in particular a poor minority, composed mostly of people of Irish or Italian origin, has frequently adopted what can be described as leftist attitudes. It is true that, until the United States declared war, the Catholic Church in America as elsewhere had been one of the most effective weapons of propaganda for il Duce, for the "Caudillo," and for all other dictators who were at peace with the Holy See. It is also true that it had, for a number of years, given its full support to the McCarthy madness. However, it must be recognized that in America the Catholic Church has, on different occasions, acted in defense of the colored population and of the white workers belonging to the lowest classes of society and that it has supported the policy of international solidarity as opposed to strictly isolationist tendencies. With the exception of certain particular problems (which the average American considers to be of minor importance) — such as the question of divorce, birth control, and the financing of parochial schools — the Catholic hierarchy has behaved in America with great prudence. It finds it convenient to forget that the Pope has condemned as grave errors the separation of the State from the Church, the power of the State to define the rights of the Church — the superiority of civil over canon law and all that comes under the heading of "modern liberties." The Catholic Church in the United States does everything in its power to appear liberal and tolerant like the other American churches.

The American correspondents in Rome have always been very careful not to give their readers a faithful picture of the Catholic Church — not to explain its traditional political doctrine and its organizational structure; not to report how the Church behaves in countries where Catholics hold power and where it is allied with the rich against the poor in order to achieve as completely as possible its own aspirations to absolute domination.

"Mondo" concluded by advising to return the kindness by which, during the last Italian elections, Italian emigrants in America, sent hundreds of thousands of letters to their relatives and friends in Italy urging them to vote for the Christian Democrats: thus, we ought to inform our relatives and acquaintances who are living in America what will be the consequences in Italy if they use their votes to send a Catholic to the White House.

A Catholic at the "White House"

It seems to me that the suggestion that we should return the Americans' kindness is an excellent one. However, I do not think we would achieve any satisfactory result if we were to address ourselves to Italo-Americans; we certainly have not got the money which was spent by those in America who organized the sending of letters to Italy. On the other hand, the great majority of Italian nationals in America have no political opinion: they vote as they are told to do by the ecclesiastical authorities.

It seems to me that it would be preferable to do all in our power to enlighten Americans who are Protestants or who belong to other non-Catholic sects as to the dangers represented by a Kennedy as President for democratic institutions in America and in Italy. We are in a better position than others to do this because we know the Catholic Church better, since the history of the Catholic Church is intimately bound up with the whole history of our country. We know what a "negation of God" was the papal government in the papal states before the year 1870; we remember how national unification was obstructed by the Catholic Church; we have witnessed the alliance between the Holy See and Fascism; we have the misfortune of having the head of Catholicism in the very heart of our capital; from the regime of the "Man of Providence," we have fallen into the vicarious regime of the Vicar of Christ.

Not only are we in a position to do this but, in my opinion, we must do it because the advent of a Catholic to the White House would have a nefarious effect on the whole field of international politics and on the internal policy of our country.

Today, our main objective is peace. Anyone who really hopes for peace can only pin his hopes on a relaxation of tensions, in other words on "competitive co-existence" would enable the countries of the Soviet bloc to evolve toward constitutions

which would place their citizens in a better position to control the actions of their leaders and to defend their individual liberties, and which, at the same time, would impel the countries of the Western bloc toward forms of government which would increasingly tend to direct the employment of the available resources to the benefit of the entire community, eliminating privileges, ignorance, unemployment and poverty.

The Catholic Church is opposed to any compromise with the Soviet Union. It maintains that the Christian world is engaged in a crusade which cannot be brought to an end until all the peoples living behind the Iron Curtain have been liberated from tyranny and the whole of humanity has been cured of the "plague" of atheistic communism . . . so that it can enjoy the freedom and well-being already enjoyed in Spain by the happy subjects of General Franco.

The crusading spirit is obviously not in favor of a relaxation of tension.

In the second place, it should be remembered that to have a Catholic at the White House would be like a clap of thunder whose echoes would ring around the world with effects far greater than the miracle of Fatima. It would be proof that the Catholic Church, with its organization and its wealth, has achieved such power as to be able, for the first time in the history of the United States, to overcome all the obstacles which have hitherto barred the way, for a Catholic, to the highest position in the land. To open this door would mean to open for the Catholic Church a smooth and convenient road to the conquest of America.

It is true that there is no particular reason for us to rejoice in the intervention by the American government in European affairs since the end of the second world war: not at the support given

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OTTO SOUKUP,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1960.

(SEAL)

Alice L. Robinson,
Notary Public.

(My Commission expires September 30, 1962)

to Franco and to other anti-communist totalitarian regimes, nor at the support given to German rearmament and the rehabilitation of German war criminals; nor even at the support of all the most reactionary forces in Italy who are endeavoring to reestablish in Italy a fascist regime without Mussolini in which the truncheon will as far as possible be replaced by the aspergillum. We have even had to stomach Mrs. Luce as ambassador to Rome for three years.

But the worst is yet to come. If we have been let down on so many occasions by non-catholic Presidents, it has seemed to us on so many occasions that their policy was dictated by Cardinal Spellman and by the Vatican, what are we to expect if the presidency of the United States were to be held by a Catholic?

Kennedy as a Candidate

Several American friends assure us that Mr. Kennedy is better than the other candidates; that he is more democratic, a greater lover of liberty, more independent of the economic pressure groups. Kennedy they say — is the candidate of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party; he is a Catholic according to the American pattern; he did not attend parochial school; he has had a liberal and secular education; his reactions are those of an intelligent and forward-looking American who is also a Catholic, and not those of a fervent Catholic who, by coincidence, also happens to be an American by birth. Kennedy has repeatedly declared that, if he were to become President, nothing could prevail over the oath of loyalty which he would swear to the Constitution. Following the publication of "Punti Fermi" he stated on TV that "Catholics holding public positions in the United States do not feel that they are bound by the principles outlined in the "Osservatore Romano" editorial." Kennedy has promised that, if he is elected, he will not send an American ambassador to the Holy See nor will he permit taxpayers' money to be used to finance parochial schools. If Kennedy were to go to the White House — declare these American friends — he would be even more independent of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and will defend the separation of State and Church — better than any Protestant.

It may well be that these American friends of ours are right. For my part, however, I have very little faith in the oaths and promises of men in politics, especially in pre-election periods. — Professions of loyalty to liberal and democratic principles by a practicing Catholic carry, for me, very little conviction, just as I mistrust declaration made by Communist leaders. The logic of the authoritarian system to which they give their adherence makes it impossible for either of these categories to be truly liberal and democratic. On the other hand, I am well aware of the value of these oaths which the Jesuits have taught Catholics to make with a mental reservation. It will not be superfluous to recall that Pius XI in his encyclical "We have no need" of June 21st, 1931, aiming to give Catholics "peace of conscience by reducing to a minimum the outward difficulties," advised them to always swear to carry out faithfully the orders of Il Duce while making, before God and their conscience, this reservation: "Always, however, in accordance with the laws of God and the Church."

Kennedy is not a liberal Catholic such as were the patriots of our "Risorgimento" who defied all the Pope's anathemas and excommunications to abolish ecclesiastical privileges, combat abuses among the clergy, dissolve religious bodies and turn their properties over to the State, overthrow the temporal power of the Papacy and establish in Rome the capital of Italy. Kennedy is Cardinal Spellman's candidate. If Cardinal Spellman — in spite of Kennedy's declarations as I have reproduced them above, in spite of the fact that he recently voted in the Senate against a proposal favoring the financing of parochial schools and that he came out against Eisenhower following the Summit Conference failure — if in spite of all this, Cardinal Spellman assures Kennedy of the support of his flock at the polls, then he certainly has good reason to do so; he must convince the man in the street in America that the Catholic Church in the United States is something completely different from the Catholic Church in Italy, in Ireland and in Spain; that the American Catholic Hierarchy has no reservations concerning the separatist regime; that it is concerned only with its spiritual ministry; that the principles which were rashly reaffirmed in the "Osservatore" article "Punti Fermi" are valid only for colonial countries, for peoples with an inferior civilization. Kennedy is exactly the man who is needed to make all this credible. If Kennedy declares that a Catholic President of the United States would not be required to obey the orders which he would receive from the Pope, this declaration — which, for a Catholic — is substantially heretical — has been made with the connivance of Cardinal Spellman who knows that, when the occasion arises, he would be well able to persuade President Kennedy that in those matters which effect the Holy See, "politics touch the altar" and when politics touch the altar it is no longer politics but a matter of faith and morals in which the Pope is infallible; if a Catholic wishes to remain a Catholic, then he must obey without question the decision taken by the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

I do not rule out the possibility that Kennedy as President of the United States may behave like a good Democrat and respect the Constitution, but if this were to happen, then it would simply mean that the Holy See recognizes the advisability of starting off the line of Catholic Presidents of the United States thus so as to dispel as far as possible the fears and doubts of Protestants regarding the Church and to consolidate the Church's position making it easier for this line to continue.

"The Frightening Thing" — one of the few Americans who understands the importance of what is at stake, said to me — "It is not the first Catholic President, it is the third or the fourth."

In Florence they say: "It's not having a drink that's bad for you. It's having another."

In Italy we began the line of Christian Democratic government with De Gasperi. Now we have the Tambroni government and there are signs of an Andreotti government to come.

American Naivete

Many Americans who are not Catholics look on with pleasure at the consolidation and expansion of the Catholic Church in their country because they feel that it constitutes the stoutest bulwark in defense of their economic, political, and social prejudices and privileges.

For the same reasons, they lauded the geniality of the Duce and the mildness of the regime during those fateful twenty years.

The extraordinary success of the fascist propaganda conducted by Coughlin, the radio priest, and the success of McCarthyism, illustrate how broad are the sections of public opinion on which, even in the United States, the most blindly reactionary propaganda appealing to nationalistic sentiments and hatred of communism can depend. However, there are even many Americans, sincere Democrats, with progressive tendencies who behave toward the Catholic Church with the open optimism of Little Red Riding Hood when face to face with the wolf who wanted to eat her up; they look upon the Catholic Church exclusively from the religious point of view instead of looking upon it as it really is — as an essentially political force. They still remember with a sense of shame the electoral campaign of 1928, when Alfred E. Smith was defeated as candidate for the presidency because he was a Catholic. To ostracize a candidate for public office because he is a Catholic is a sign — they say — of a very low level of political education; it amounts to contradicting the entire American tradition which is for religious liberty and the protection of the rights of minorities.

"Only a very small number of Protestants and unbelievers," writes a friend of mine who has been teaching for a number of years in an American university, "is convinced that Catholicism and democracy are incompatible, and very few dare to say so publicly because, if they dare to do so, they are immediately accused of being fanatics and extremists. Even those who have dabbled in the study of history are, in general, convinced that American Catholicism is as tolerant as are the majority of the Protestant Churches."

When I tell them that what matters is not any old Catholic, but the clergy, that the clergy of today is what it has been ever since the days of the Council of Trent, and that there is absolutely no difference between the American and the non-American clergy, they begin to laugh and say that I have brought my European prejudices to the United States.

This artless optimism and this complete ignorance of the real character and the ultimate objectives of the Catholic Church explain why it is that Americans have so far been unable to impose any limits on the expansion of the Catholic Church which might serve as a defense of the principles of the Constitution of 1789 which brought their country to its present grandeur.

To think, as many Americans do, that the Catholic Church is a Church like all the Protestant denominations and, as a consequence, that its relations with the State do not present any particular problem requiring special solutions, is the height of naivete.

Unlike that of the Protestant Churches, the very structure of the Catholic Church is centralized to the maximum and is completely authoritarian. Its supreme head is the Supreme Pontiff who, in his capacity as sole Vicar of God on earth, is convinced that he holds full and universal powers of jurisdiction (legislative, juridical and executive power) over all Catholics. From the Pope down there is the whole chain of the ecclesiastical hierarchy down to the lowest step. When the Pope speaks on matters of faith or morals, he is infallible and all Catholics — including the rulers of States and magistrates — owe him blind, total

obedience. The lay people play a purely passive part in the life of the Church: they have no say in the choice of their priests and almost no say in the administration of the possessions of the Church.

Unlike the teaching of the Protestant Churches, the teaching of the Catholic Church is exclusively dogmatic, contrary to the critical spirit, which it considers as a manifestation of satanic pride. The spiritual power of the Catholic Church over the masses is based on miracles, on spectacular ceremonies, on magical practices, on the fear of hell, the threat of excommunication, the granting of indulgences and on the cult of images and on relics.

Unlike the leaders of the Protestant churches, the head of the Catholic Church is a true sovereign with his own territory and he is recognized as such by many states with full rights for an active and passive legation.

In all countries where the Catholic Church exists, its hierarchy and, through the hierarchy, the faithful take orders from a foreign power which may have and, indeed, frequently does have interests which conflict with those of the national States.

The Separation of the State from the Church

The idea that the program of the Catholic Church in America is any different from the program in other countries in the world is even more naive.

The Pope has never accepted and — because of the contradiction which does not permit it — will never be able to accept the principle of the separation of the State from the Church.

On January 6, 1895, Leo XIII, addressing the American bishops, recognized that the Catholic Church in the United States "in no way hampered by the civil government and defended from all violence by the common law and the justice of the courts, is able to enjoy without hindrance the certainty of liberty to live and to work." However, he immediately added: "Although these things are true in themselves, it is nevertheless necessary to eliminate the error by which it may be thought that America should be taken as a model of the excellent condition of the Church, in other words, that it is either permissible or expedient (speaking in general terms) for Church and State to be separated according to the American pattern. If, therefore, the Church in your countries remains unharmed, if indeed it is both prosperous and developing, this is due to the fruitfulness granted by God to His Church which, when it does not have to overcome opposition, and does not encounter obstacles, grows and expands of its own accord. However, it would yield far greater fruit if, in addition to enjoying liberty, it were favored by the laws and were patronized by the public authorities."

If we are to understand the exact meaning of these words, we must compare them with those that the same Leo XIII wrote a few years earlier in his encyclical "Libertas":

"Though it may happen that, due to the special conditions of the period, the Church tolerates those modern liberties not because it prefers them but because it considers expedient to permit them, should times improve them it would take advantage of its own liberty and by persuasion, exhortation and prayer it would make every endeavor to fulfill, as it must, the office assigned to it by God, which

is to look to the eternal salvation of men. One thing, however, remains true, namely that this liberty granted indiscriminately to all and to everything is not, as we have said, desirable in itself since it offends our reason that error should have the same rights as truth."

This is the theory which the successors of Leo XIII have repeated on various occasions and which is clearly enunciated in the Catholic Encyclopedia, edited in the Vatican City since the war:

"The principle of more or less radical separation between Church and State," we read in the Encyclopedia, "which may seem to be the lesser evil in those countries where various religious confessions are in conflict and the government is not in the hands of Catholics, cannot but appear to be an insult to God where Catholicism is the predominant religion and it is for this reason that Pius IX declared that such a separation was 'most false and extremely pernicious'."

The Church's doctrine concerning its relationship with the State was meticulously defined by Leo XIII: "Everything in the world that is in any way sacred, everything that effects the salvation of souls and the worship of God, whether it is such by nature or by the end to which it tends (and here, states the Encyclopedia, the Pope was certainly referring to indirect power) comes under the jurisdiction of the Church. It is only right that all other things which come under civil and political headings, should be subordinate to the civil authority, for Jesus Christ Himself ordered that we should render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and to God the things which are God's." (Encyclical: "Immortale Dei," November 1, 1885).

What is due to Caesar and what is due to God, according to Catholic teaching, can only be determined by the Pope, and in the event of a conflict between the civil and religious authorities, the former must always give in to the latter. Consequently Paul Blanshard gave a good explanation when he said: "Church and State form part of a single temple with movable dividing walls inside and the Pope has the right to determine where the dividing walls are to be put."

As "there is no power except from God," a legitimate civil power is only that which is recognized as such by the Pope and which acts as his "secular arm," as an instrument of his will. All the compromises which apparently the Catholic Church has been compelled to accept, are compromises imposed by "these sad times," but the final objective remains ever unchanged.

In an article which appeared in 1953 in the publication "Ecclesiastical Law," Carlo Pacelli, a relative of the then reigning Pope and a lawyer of the Sacred Consistory, concluded a study of the Catholic Church and the Catholics of the United States as follows:

"It is therefore permissible to express a conviction that the Catholics of the United States, aware of the force which they represent and constitute and to which they belong in the world, will certainly know how, in accordance with the principles of democracy in general and of the democratic organization of the United States in particular, to make their principles and their convictions prevail in all matters which affect them as Catholics and as citizens."

It is this conviction which justifies our fears, because we know only too well the convictions of

practicing Catholics: they are the principles of privilege, of intolerance, and of the monopoly of the Catholic Church as opposed to freedom of conscience, freedom of worship, freedom of thought, freedom of the press, the sovereignty of the people. When practicing Catholics, in company with lawyer Pacelli, are in the minority, they claim their freedoms in the name of our principles; when they become the majority, they deny all our liberties in the name of their principles.

The Church Out to Conquer America

In an essay on "Church and State," published by the University of the Sacred Heart on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Vatican Concordat between the Church and the Italian State, Professor Joseph B. Code of the Catholic University of Washington thus described what was, in his opinion, the most extraordinary feature of the recent history of the United States:

"Perhaps no country in the world can point to such a conquest of souls for God (which means — I should point out — for the Catholic Church) in such a brief period of time against the background of such a serious initial disadvantage, as can the United States. One hundred and fifty years ago there were only about twenty five thousand Catholics and about a hundred priests within the present borders of the United States. Today there are twenty five million Catholics and thirty thousand priests. The life of the Church develops without any restriction on the part of the national government or of the governments of the individual States. Charitable and educational institutions are flourishing, and no attempt is made to subject the Church to the State."

In the same year, 1929, Bertrand Russell, the philosopher, wrote that in the next fifty or one hundred years, the Catholic Church would become predominant in the United States "by sheer force of numbers."

In fact, this is now happening, but the Americans of Anglo-Saxon origin — who nevertheless attach great importance to what they call the "American way of life" — seem not even to be aware of it.

In an interview granted to the publication "Look" on February 16th of this year (an interview which was subsequently commented on in "Espresso" and in "Mondo"), the Rev. John O'Brien gave some figures concerning the present state of the Catholic Church in America.

The total number of Catholics in 1959, he said, was 39,505,475. This figure does not include all those individuals brought up on the basic Catholic tradition who, even though baptized, do not practice their religion regularly and do not pay taxes for the support of the Church. The Catholics today constitute 35 per cent of the practicing members of the various sects. The total increase in the number of Catholics as a result of the birth rate, immigration and conversions, has been 12,787,132 between the years 1948-1958. Conversions numbered 1,291,545.

As a result of the ban, by the Church, on any form of birth control and also as a result of the immigration of Mexicans, Porto Ricans and of Europeans, the Catholics who, in 1948, did not form even a fifth of the entire population, increased in number in the following ten years by just under half the total increase in population. They have

not yet achieved the absolute majority, they come second after the "Protestant sects," but they already constitute a relative majority in relation to each one of the various branches of non-Catholics. Moreover, like all organized minorities, in a disorganized mass, they exert an influence in American public life which is out of all proportion to their numbers. As compared with the Methodists, the Baptists and over 450 other Protestant sects, the Catholics constitute a single bloc under the leadership of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, subordinate to Rome, whose orders they carry out without any question; they therefore exert an influence on many problems and particularly on international problems which determine the policy of political parties and of the American government.

Inadequacy of Juridical Safeguards

The Catholic Church in America is the richest in the world.

We have no reliable information concerning the total figure for the value of the property and income of the Catholic Church in the United States because the Church never publishes reports, nor does it submit them for the approval of the faithful; we only know that the Church is now one of the greatest economic forces in the United States.

This power is largely the result of the American juridical system.

In "Course of Italian Ecclesiastical Law," (1924), Francesco Ruffini first recalled how the Catholic Church in America had successfully secured important changes in the common law affecting the internal government of its local agencies and the administration of its property, and then went on:

"The community of the faithful is cut off from any share in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs more completely than in any European system. In comparison, even the Italian ecclesiastical administrations in some areas are absolute models of a democratic and representative regime. The tenacious authoritarian, hierarchial, monarchical and absolutist aspirations of the Catholic Church have thus been fully satisfied in America. The Church has succeeded in superimposing its rigid institutional organization on the flexible American law governing associations in America; it enjoys powers which have no comparison in any European country."

The inadequacy of juridical safeguards provides one explanation of how the Catholic Church has been able to increase its economic power in the United States, invading all fields.

Another explanation of the same phenomenon is to be found in the tax laws, which, in general, exempt from taxation incomes and the gratuitous transfer of ownership of property which is intended for religious and educational purposes. No other Church, in fact, holds such a vast amount of property as the Catholic monasteries (this property has increased tremendously in value as a result of the development of the major urban centers) nor does any other Church receive the gifts and inheritances which the Catholic Church receives from anyone who wants to reserve a place in Heaven or to release the souls of the departed faithful from the pains of purgatory.

In my opinion, there is equal ground for dismay at the expansion of the American Catholic Church

in the field of education. The Catholics have already succeeded in securing a great deal of indirect financing for their parochial schools from the individual States in the form of the free distribution of school books, free lunches and free transportation of pupils from their homes to school and vice versa.

I recently questioned an American professor on this subject and he told me that the most damaging effect of the Catholic schools in the United States was their contribution to the deterioration of the public schools. By refusing at local level, to vote sufficient taxes for the public schools which they do not use, they make these schools deteriorate to the advantage of the parochial schools. The same tactics were adopted in Italy.

"To ensure a good education for my son," this professor told me, "I was compelled to move to an area where there are no Catholics."

The Catholic Church in America is not concerned only with education within her own ranks. About ten years ago, Salvemini told me that he had been to visit a special training university for diplomats run by the Jesuits in Washington (Foreign Service School, Georgetown University) — it was at that time the only school of its kind in America, and was attended also by many Protestants and Jews. In the entrance hall, Salvemini had seen a huge map showing the two hemispheres and indicating, by means of little lighted points, those places where there were ambassadors, consuls and other diplomatic officials who had been students of the University. Every country in the world was lit up by those little points.

"American Protestants," commented Salvemini, "have their heart in the right place, but they have no heads. They do not even realize the importance of the fact that half of their diplomatic personnel has now passed through a school run by Jesuits."

Instead of confessors of the Sovereign, spiritual directors of the King's favorites and dictators of principles (which were quite sufficient in the absolutist condition of the old regime) the Company of Jesus now holds through the American State department a network of its own ex-pupils in the most delicate positions of international political life.

A Warning

I hope our democratic American friends will permit me to end this speech with a warning.

In spite of all the disappointments we have had from governments in Washington in the last few years, we still cherish confidence in the Stars and Stripes. We know the contribution the United States has made to the history of civilization and for this reason we still hope that may their's become the flag of free men in this world, but we would lose this confidence and our every hope would be stifled if, one day, we were to discern behind the fifty stars the yellow and white colors of the Vatican flag.

If our democratic American friends are looking behind that flag for allies in Europe, they will find them in the priests of the Company of Jesus, in the chiefs of staff of the great barons of the parasite industries, in the landowners who are fearful of agrarian reform and in all those others who still harbor a nostalgia for the fascist regime. It is certain that if our American friends were one

day to put such allies to the test, they would not be particularly satisfied with the results.

Before voting for a Catholic candidate for the presidency, I feel that these considerations should be taken into account.

Many of those who fight fascism and took an active part in the Resistance in defense of liberal, democratic ideals are ready to fight once more alongside their American friends in defense of those same ideals; however, they are not prepared to lift a finger in defense of the "free world" as conceived by the Monsignors in the Vatican, whose principles were once more stated in "Punti Fermi" in the "Osservatore Romano," and have been implemented to the full by the regime of General Franco, that most obedient son of Holy Mother Church."

The above article can be bought in pamphlet form through the AR Book Service. Price 10c.

The Smell Of Blackmail

The smell of blackmail was in the air in September when Charles P. Taft, Chairman of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, strongly urged that churches and other religious organizations which circulate literature and propagandize in other ways for the purpose of keeping a Catholic out of the White House, should lose their tax exempt status. While the Rationalist deplores bigotry and takes a dim view of many of the tax exemptions granted to churches, we nonetheless feel that Mr. Taft's suggested use of the tax exemption club to coerce churches and other groups into ceasing their efforts to call attention to the danger of an expansion of Catholic authoritarianism, does not fall very much short of outright blackmail. Actually, if Mr. Taft and his clericalist friends are so touchy about the misuse of tax exempt donations, they should raise a cry about the successful attempts of tax exempt Zionist groups in influencing American policy in the Middle East, or about the numerous attempts of the Catholic hierarchy to extort public funds and other favors from Congress, state legislatures, tax boards and courts. As long as the Catholic hierarchy continues its semi-political campaign to suppress birth control, limit divorce and secure public funds for its segregated school system, other church groups should be free to attack, in an honest and factual manner, the schemes and plots of the hierarchy aimed at making our America Catholic.

— The Editor.

Readers' Forum

A Writer Complains

Dear Editor:

I have just seen Warren French's distorted and acidulous "review" of my essay, "The Fossils of Piety."

Mr. French does his best to give bogus impressions of my book to the kind of reader who might (of all people, since it has been attacked by members of the Christian Church) acknowledge my point. I "chide" various authors for hovering between rationalism and belief, between rationalism's self-reliance and orthodoxy's props; for being, as your readers might appreciate, only half-rational while pretending to be wholly so. Hence my criticism of Malraux's aestheticism, Hemingway's nihilism, Camus's politicicism and the almost mystical stress placed on identity by Santayana and Trilling. Of all things I denounce fugitive theorizing; of all things I pay tribute to stoical and ambitious charity — hence my lengthy tribute to (for instance) Camus's "sense, balance and unwavering humanity." I also condemn "the aestheticism of extremes," the death-wish of Ernst Juenger as well as the rose-garden of T. S. Eliot.

Anyone with a gramme of sense would see that my condemnation of "subjectivism" hardly squares with (what your reviewer assigns to me) an exhortation to "cloister and quit." When I talk of recognizing defeat, I allude to defeats we cannot but recognize; in Algeria, South Africa and Hungary. I am asking for sane realism, not for any sponge to be thrown in. Negotiation has failed, keeps failing, but is not bound to do so always. I state in fact that the belief in negotiation must be accompanied by a stoical but not exaggerated awareness of our repeated imperfection. — The book is really an attack on escapism — indeed on such over-simplification as your reviewer offers.

Paul West,
Memorial Hospital,
St. John's, Newfoundland.

... And Mr. French Replies

I grant that my evaluation of "The Fossils of Piety" was compressed and oversimplified. I felt obliged, however, to keep the review within limits warranted by the apparent importance of the book. Perhaps as the author charges, I failed to read accurately; but it is at least equally likely that the author failed to express himself clearly or soundly. Certainly I do not follow the reasoning of his letter, since a condemnation of "subjectivism" seems to me to square with nothing but an exhortation to "cloister and quit." I fail to see how, outside the exact sciences, man can escape subjectivism except by subscribing to some kind of thought-inhibiting "system." Also, along with Dr. Zhivago, I fail to see any necessity or justification for avoiding subjectivism even in the sciences.

On the whole, I cannot revise my opinion that Mr. West's subject outstrips his ability.

Warren French

Theist, thou makest of thy God a thing more silly than thyself.
— Epicurus

The Cult Of God Grows Obsolete

"Watered-down Christian doctrines are phases
in man's struggle to get rid of religion"

by EDMUND WILSON

Edmund Wilson is best known for his works of criticism, although he also is author of a novel and volumes of poetry and essays, as well as several plays and a historical study. This selection appeared as part of an essay titled "Religion" in *A PIECE OF MY MIND: REFLECTIONS AT SIXTY*, a Doubleday Anchor Book, 1958, and is reproduced here by special arrangement with the author.

Religion is a cult of a god, or gods, conceived in supernatural terms. — The "religion of humanity" and the "religion of art" are not religions at all, and it confuses the whole question of religion seriously to use such phrases. It is also misleading to talk as if a mere liking or respect for the ritual or the mythology of one of the Christian churches were equivalent to a religion. One may understand Christianity as a phenomenon of human history, admire the productions of Christian art, appreciate the value of this cult in the past, and for some, at present, as a discipline and an inspiration; but to do this is not religion.

The religion of "Christ" demands that we accept the virgin birth of Jesus and regard him as the true Messiah, literally the son of God, begotten by the Holy Ghost and sent to atone for the sins of men and make possible human salvation, as the performer of unquestionable miracles, who was able to revive the dead and who rose himself from the tomb. We must believe that he sits now at the right hand of God and will preside at a Judgment Day, when the saved shall be winnowed from the damned. We must acknowledge that this Father, Son, and Holy Ghost constitute a mysterious trinity, which, without understanding, we must worship.

I am aware that it is not obligatory now — even, I am told, in the Episcopal church — literally to believe all this. It is permitted to accept some features or even the whole of the creed as true only in a "symbolic" sense. But this is surely to beg the question. If the Savior is but a symbol, why should we be called upon to worship him? Why should we be asked to build churches and to take the communion in them?

The watered-down Christian doctrines, from liberal Episcopalianism to Unitarianism, have hardly more in common with genuine religion than has the "religion" of social service. They

are phases in the struggle of modern man to get rid of his genuine religion, to liquidate the old cult of Jesus as a supernatural being.

The New Testament is vague enough and inconsistent enough to lend itself to a variety of interpretations; but certainly the teaching of Jesus, as variously reported in the Gospels, is mainly in the direction of abnegation, of forgiveness, of non-resistance. If there really is a Christian ethics, it is the kind of thing preached by Tolstoy and of which, by his own behavior, he illustrated the impracticability. There are people, a very few people — Tolstoy was conspicuously not one of them — whose temperament has some affinity with this version of the Christian ideal; but this ideal is, even for them, incompatible with the conditions of human life.

The saint says, "So much the worse for these human complications, embarrassments"; mortifies or tortures the flesh or breaks it by succumbing to martyrdom. But the rest of us cannot do this; we must feed and defend ourselves, try to make sure of the survival of our species; and if we admit that this ideal is the Christian one, it is ridiculous to call ourselves Christians. We must constantly — in an infinite variety of ways — be contending with one another, and the attitude enjoined by Jesus would render impossible, not merely war, not merely business competition, but even a vigorous argument, a competitive examination or the rivalry of two men for a girl.

Thus, to take Christianity seriously is contrary to common sense, and of course it has rarely been attempted. In the meantime, the barbarous conflicts between nations that call themselves Christian and invariably invoke the Christian God have been a scandal of such proportions that it has always made insignificant the protests of the saints and the satirists. The morality attributed to Jesus has had perhaps a limited validity in restraining us from un-

necessary ruthlessness — though the notion that all men are brothers and should be merciful to one another was not invented by Jesus; but, if generally put into practice, it would prevent any kind of achievement except that of such unusual people as St. Francis of Assisi.

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I dwell here upon Christianity simply because it is the dominant religion in the part of the world where I live; but for all the religions the case is the same. They are, of course, not merely impostures, as the eighteenth century skeptics liked to think—not even mere legends and myths, which, as the anthropologists show, are likely to have much in common in however remote parts of the world for the reason that they are all trying to deal with typical situations of human beings in connection with the earth, with the elements, with the forces they feel in themselves, and with their relations to one another. They have become, in a sense, realities in the lives of the people who practice them.

The resurrection of Adonis or Jesus serves not merely to celebrate the coming of Spring, nor is it, for the worshipers of these gods, merely a ritual "symbol": it can hardly be disassociated from the revival of morale in the celebrants. In the same way, the sacred dances performed by the American Indians may not be accompanied or followed by the rain that the celebrants invoke, but they help to keep up the tribe's spirits during the period when no rain is falling; they represent a dynamic experience of which faith in the rain god is part.

The power of prayer is real: when the Arab repeats his ritual, he is sustaining the discipline of his way of life; when the Protestant Christian appeals to his God, he is rallying his own moral forces. But the ecstasy of revival, the strengthening of discipline, the summoning of moral resources are by no means inseparable from the formulas of religion. They are the phenomena with which everyone, surely, is more or less familiar. For some, they are made easier by ritual; but for others, they are weakened or degraded by being entangled with folklore or with theological systems, with the practices of primitive people attempting to propitiate the elements, or with the imaginative constructions of the learned, aghast at the infinitudes of the universe or the conflicts of impulse in themselves.

As for the moments of divine revelation, the direct apprehensions of God, that the saints and the prophets describe, unbelievers have no right to deny them. The ecstasy of imaginative

vision, the sudden insight into the nature of things, are also experiences not confined to the religious. The scientist and the artist know them. But they talk about them in other terms.

A universe beyond understanding does not necessarily equal "God"

The word GOD is now archaic, and it ought to be dropped by those who do not need it for moral support. This word has the disadvantage of having meant already far too many things in too many ages of history and to too many kinds of people, along with the disadvantage that the one thing these various meanings have all had more or less in common is an anthropomorphic picture. In the case of the conceptions of the metaphysician — such as Whitehead's "principle of concretion" in the universe — in which the anthropomorphic image tends to disappear, this term seems far-fetched and uncalled-for; and in the case of the ordinary man, it is lazy to use it to designate the impetus which rouses him up from bed in the morning, sends him about his business, and makes him believe that that business is important, as well as provide a "first cause" for the force that sets the electrons of physics revolving around their nuclei and the planets around their suns.

There is no classical conception of God that can really be made to fit what we know today, in the middle of the twentieth century, of the behavior of what we call "energy" and the behavior of human beings, and of the relation of these to one another. Yet we still use the word in this indolent sense to cover up our inability to account, in a "rational" way, for the fact that we exist, that the universe exists, and that everything is as it is.

At some point in the distant past, human beings became aware that their bodies had been developed in an intricate and remarkably effective way, and since they could not remember having planned this or worked it out themselves, they came to the conclusion, as Paley did — thinking in mechanical terms — that where one found what one took for a clock, there must previously have been a clockmaker.

Today such conceptions are obsolete. Though we still make mechanical models of the movements of the planets and the fission of the atom, we do not see the world as an immense machine. We do not speak of unvarying scientific laws; rather we speak of "statistical averages." We have been forced to recognize the "organic," to admit that what we used to

call "reason" may land us in a cul-de-sac. Yet we keep on performing experiments which we observe from the rational point of view of the cause that produces the effect, and we know that we can find out certain things in this way: techniques for procuring results.

What is behind the processes involved? What is involved in our wish to control them? We do not know. The best we can say is that the universe is not a machine, set going by a machine-maker, God, but an organism that is always developing, in which we, interrelated with everything else, have our life-cycles as unified groups of impermanently clustering particles. But to say that all this was created by "God" or to identify it somehow with "God" is to supplement our human ignorance with a gratuitous fairy story.

As we come to understand more and more about the processes of "life" and "matter", we discover that it is less and less easy to differentiate clearly between them. As we probe into the happenings in the universe — electrical and cerebral phenomena, the transit of light waves and sound waves, the multiplication of cells in organisms, the inherited combinations of genes — we find them to be sure, less amenable to the "laws" of the old-fashioned scientist who thought in mechanical terms. But we do not find a God.

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Nor is it possible any longer for us to make the old-fashioned distinction between man and the lower animals which enabled us to claim for ourselves something noble we called the "soul" which the other animals did not have, and to hold ourselves responsible to a Deity of whom the other animals had no knowledge. Even minds that rejected this Deity and that doubted the conception of the human "soul" were inclined to maintain a distinction between the "reason" of man and the instinct of the lower animals. This distinction is no longer tenable.

The discovery of primitive man and of the kinship of man with the anthropoids brought at first — in the nineteenth century — along with the acknowledgment of his kinship, a certain very firm insistence that even the anthropoid mammals be made to keep their distance from man. The distinction between "reason" and "instinct" was a part of this holding them at arm's length, as was also the resolute emphasis, on the part of certain schools of thought, on the distinction, in man himself, between "human" and "animal" elements. If we had to be cousins of the apes, we would, nevertheless, make it clear that the social

distance between us amounted to a difference of kind.

The point was also pressed at this time that man was the "tool-making" animal. No animal except the human was supposed to use extraneous objects to help it to accomplish a purpose, let alone to shape an object for this purpose. But then it was discovered that the animals did not only have the first but the second — and that not only could the mammals perform such feats, but also the insects, the fish, and the birds. There is the wasp that picks up a pebble to tamp down the earth on the hole in which she has laid her eggs; there are the fish that shoot down winged insects with perfectly aimed drops of water, the birds that build bowers as well as nests, for reasons that are not known, and black them with pieces of charcoal; there is the chimpanzee which not only opens doors with keys and fits hollow reeds together in order to construct a pole long enough to knock down a banana but can be taught to sew and eat with a knife and fork.

It has sometimes been claimed by persons who have lived on close terms with the higher apes that these latter show certain signs of possessing a "moral sense," and lepidopterists have sometimes imagined that a kind of aesthetic sense is manifested in the patterns of butterflies, which were originated for mimetic protection but have occasionally been carried so far through a love of elaboration, as to attract attention and expose their creators to danger. We know now that the bees have evolved a code — not of sounds but of movements and stances — by which a scout looking for honey can convey, on his return to the hive, exactly how far away it is and in what direction it lies.

Thus the lower animals are very much closer to us than they were to the men of Darwin's time. The old-fashioned dog lover who could not believe that his pet did not have a soul and who hoped to find him in heaven may be comforted by some of the findings of the present day zoologist — though the latter has reduced to absurdity the old-fashioned idea of heaven, which, if open to dogs, really ought to be open to bees, ants and wasps as well, and has undermined the old-fashioned idea of God, who made man in his image, a "thinking being."

The Unitarian Register

A Truth-Speaker baffles all statecraft, and exerts at last a reluctant homage from the bitterest adversaries.
— Emerson

The Passing Parade

by EDD DOERR

On The Church-State Battlefront

Hurricane "Donna" will be remembered as but a mild breeze when compared with another hurricane which is brewing in Miami. As we go to press, a real storm, the likes of which has not been seen since the time Vashti McCollum decided to fight for her son's freedom from religion in Champaign, Illinois, is breaking in the Dade County, Florida, Circuit Court, and may blow all the way to the United States Supreme Court.

A suit to end all sectarian religious practices in the Greater Miami public schools is being pressed by a group of courageous Miami taxpayer parents (one agnostic, one Unitarian, three Jews) who are being supported by the Florida Civil Liberties Union and the American Jewish Congress. The practices which the plaintiffs seek to eliminate are: 1.) Bible reading in assemblies and classrooms, 2.) use of school facilities for Bible instruction after school hours, 3.) distribution of Bibles and religious literature in the schools, 4.) prayers and grace before meals, 5.) singing religious hymns, 6.) observance of religious holidays, such as Easter, Christmas and Hanukkah, 7.) religious displays and symbols in the schools, 8.) questions on the religious affiliations of students, 9.) religious baccalaureate programs, and 10.) the requirement that all teachers believe in some unspecified "God". As these practices are quite common in many public schools throughout our country, it is obvious that if the Miami case reaches the Supreme Court (both sides have pledged to carry it that far) and if the Court rules against the sectarian practices, then a staggering blow, perhaps more severe than the McCollum decision, will have been dealt to the obscurantist clericalist forces which would use the power of the state to indoctrinate and infect our nation's children with pathological ideologies inimical to healthy personality growth, the development of intelligence and social sanity.

Naturally, most secularists and civil libertarians hope that the Miami case will reach the Supreme Court and that the Court will follow the spirit of the McCollum decision to rule the religious practices violations of the First Amendment; but we must not rejoice prematurely, for Catholic editorial writers are

already pointing out that a Supreme Court decision upholding the First Amendment in this matter might well cause Protestants to look with greater favor upon the parochial school idea. Obviously, nothing would please the Catholic hierarchy more than to have the Protestant churches set up a competing private school system, for this would probably lead to government support of all parochial and private education, which in turn would virtually destroy public education in this country, playing right into the hands of the authoritarians who already maintain the largest system of religious indoctrination centres. Consequently, we must never forget that one victory in one battle is not total victory. If religious freedom in the schools is to be saved and expanded, we must never relax our vigilance.

With further reference to the Miami case, our correspondent on the scene reports that the Miami newspapers have been remarkably impartial. The "Miami Herald" has even published a sympathetic and liberal interview with Harlow Chamberlain, the agnostic plaintiff. One "Herald" columnist has even made statements favoring "freedom from religion"; the same columnist also wrote an article favoring and defending Joseph Lewis' projected "Thomas Paine Home" for orphans in Dade County. The next issue of the "Rationalist" will carry further details of the Miami case.

Varieties Of Anti-Catholicism

That there are at least two main types of anti-Catholicism is a fact which is being obscured, both deliberately and otherwise, in the current discussions of the "Catholic President" problem. The Catholic hierarchy, as a matter of expediency, would have all Americans believe that ALL opposition to Catholicism stems exclusively from unreasoning, blind prejudice and ignorance of the "true nature" of the Church; and as a result of long and arduous efforts by the hierarchy, this "party line" view is being echoed across the land by politicians and editors who either are afraid to offend our largest pressure group or who are ignorant of the Church's history and present ambitions. We who know better can serve freedom and our country best by constantly emphasizing the fact that anti-Catholicism is the only possible attitude for informed persons who value freedom, reason and science and who detest all attempts at totalitarian control. We must demonstrate in every way possible that blind prejudice against individual Catholic citizens is not the

same thing as a reasoned dislike and distrust of a totalitarian institution whose members and supporters are, for the most part, but brain-washed slaves.

Brave New World Revisited

Those who scoff at the idea that our civilization (such as it is) may be rushing headlong toward some sort of nightmare utopia as described in George Orwell's "1984" or Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World" would do well to read the latter writer's recently published "Brave New World Revisited" (New York. Harper and Brothers. 147 pages. \$3.00. Also available in a 50c Pocket Edition.)

In this slim but exciting volume of essays, novelist Aldous Huxley, one of the most brilliant and provocative of contemporary writers and a brother of biologist Sir Julian Huxley, re-examines the "Brave New World" he wrote about thirty years ago and concludes that such a totalitarian society or glorified terrarium may well be just around the corner. His conclusion follows inevitably from a study of broad current trends in population growth, social and political organization, the technology of indoctrination (brain-washing) and mass manipulation. Overpopulation and our planet-wide squandering of irreplaceable natural resources threaten to inundate us with problems which may prove to be too much for our present democratic institutions to deal with, thus paving the way for any dictator, demagogue or totalitarian party which promises relief; if the democratic institutions of our country, which evolved over a period of a thousand years under fairly favorable physical conditions, cannot adequately deal with many

of our simple present problems, what can we expect from underdeveloped countries, such as the Congo or Pakistan, which already suffer from overpopulation and a lack of democratic traditions. Further, growing numbers and increasing social complexity are working to concentrate social, political, economic and ecclesiastical power into ever fewer hands; various "power elites," in our country and elsewhere, are gradually taking the leadership function away from the individual, where power in any democratic society should reside, the net result of which can only be complete regimentation and totalitarianism. Lastly, new propaganda methods, advertising gimmicks, pharmacological behavior manipulations and brainwashing techniques are making it possible for aspiring dictators to gain control over ever larger numbers of people.

Although the outlook is extremely bleak, according to Huxley, we can save ourselves through education, not the mediocre stuff passing for education today, but an education which stresses semantics, propaganda analysis, problem solving, reasoning and the development of personalities capable of growth and active, intelligent and creative participation in the leadership of a democratic society. Since Huxley spends too little time on "What Can Be Done," I would like to refer the reader for further details and suggestions to "Education and the Democratic Faith," by E. V. Sayers and Ward Madden (New York. Appleton-Century-Crofts), which I reviewed in my column in the May-June 1960 "Rationalist".

"Brave New World Revisited" is to be heartily recommended as an important contribution to the literature of freedom.

Of Unitarians And Rationalists

Could it be that Unitarianism is one of the best vehicles for Rationalism and Humanism in the United States today? — A thought-provoking approach to this question is to be found in Jack Mendelsohn's "Why I Am A Unitarian" (New York. Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1960. 214 pages. \$2.75), which is one of a series of "Why I Am . . ." books written by spokesmen for various church groups. Although I cannot agree with everything that Jack Mendelsohn has written or said, I feel that he is an excellent representative of middle-of-the-road Unitarianism (as contrasted with the conservative "Christian" brand of certain elements at Harvard and elsewhere), and I count it a privilege to have known him when he was a minister of All Souls Unitarian Church

WILLS AND BEQUESTS

Form of Bequest

I give, devise and bequeath to the Rationalist Association, Inc., a corporation incorporated under the laws of the State of Missouri, the following property:

(Describe property)

to be used by the said corporation to promote Rationalism, Humanism, Freethought and Secularism through its official publication and otherwise.

.....
(Signed as required by the laws of your State.)

in Indianapolis. It was Jack Mendelsohn, in fact, who officiated at the entirely Humanistic wedding service for my wife and I not very many years ago.

The Unitarianism of which Jack Mendelsohn writes rejects all of the conventional theological nonsense of the traditional orthodoxies and timid neo-orthodoxies, and places its chief emphasis upon democracy, freedom, reason, scientific method, and a profound respect for the basic dignity, worth and potentiality of the human personality. This Unitarianism is a broad enough and free enough movement to accommodate all varieties of Rationalists and Humanists, including those who dislike the words "religion" and "church"; doesn't Edmund Wilson say that liberal Unitarianism is not a religion in the strict meaning of the word? — and who feel no need for membership in any organization. Although some Rationalists may not care to admit it, Unitarianism, at least in our country, has the large and expanding organization which Rationalism and Humanism need if they are to become a major force in our society. Yes, Unitarianism is big enough and "respectable" enough to attempt and to actually accomplish tasks presently beyond the scope of our small and scattered Rationalist, Humanist and Free-thought groups. Of course, separate groups, Rationalist and Humanist, must continue to function as intellectual spearheads, sounding boards and prophets. In an age characterized by violent change and rapid erosion of freedom and intelligence, it is foolish for liberals to divide themselves over minor items of disbelief; Rationalists, Humanists, Freethinkers, Secularists, Unitarians, Universalists, Ethicals, Reform Jews and all other liberals must minimize their petty differences and pull together to promote those values which they feel are necessary if freedom and civilization are to survive and thrive. Undeniably, in unity there is strength.

Notes...

Moviegoers tired of Hollywood inanities and longing for truly great cinema will enjoy the cinemagic of the brilliant and versatile Swedish writer-director Ingmar Bergman. "Wild Strawberries" is a memorable and thought-provoking film, and "The Seventh Seal" is one of the greatest — perhaps the greatest — presentations of Humanism ever to light up a screen.

... A friend recently returned from a trip to Europe, reports that when Pope John took office, one of his first endeavors was

to see that the male sex organs of every statue in Rome were covered with suitable fig leaves. The foliage sprouted on the works of the Renaissance masters and is reported to be nothing short of ludicrous, and one is led to wonder what Mr. Roncalli must have had weighing upon his mind these many years.

God and Man in Washington

All who are interested in the preservation of freedom of and from religion will welcome Paul Blanshard's new book, *God and Man in Washington* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1960, 251 pages, \$3.50). Blanshard, who is one of the best, fairest, most scholarly and most respected authorities on church-state matters, provides us here with a valuable, readable, concise and authoritative summary of the church-state battlefront in the Judiciary, in Congress and in the executive branch. He deals at some length with the "Catholic President" issue and succeeds in raising religious controversy out of the muck of blind emotionalism. "I have tried," Blanshard said, "to preserve in these pages a point of view that is neither secularist nor sectarian, a point of view appropriate for a tolerant liberal democrat who believes in the practice of freedom in a pluralistic society . . . This book is designed for Protestants, Catholics, Jews and the unchurched, who all, I believe, have a right to share without discrimination in the blessings of a tolerant America."

"God and Man in Washington" is an important book — to own, to lend, to give to friends, to place on library shelves. Copies may be obtained from the Rationalist Ass'n Book Service, 6720 S. Ashland Ave., Chicago 36, Illinois, for \$3.50 each.

Miscellaneous

A Catholic political party has recently been founded on United States soil. The "Christian Action Party" of Puerto Rico was started after clericalists, apparently led by Bishops Davis and McManus (These guys are Puerto Rican?), failed to pressure the island's democratically elected legislature into passing a "released time" bill. Puerto Rico's Catholic Actionists have apparently given up trying to use under-cover means to secure Catholic oriented legislation in the areas of marriage, birth control and education, and have emerged into the open. May their efforts go over like the proverbial lead blimp.

Cardinal Frings of Cologne has filed suit against the German Association of Freethinkers

for "blasphemy", charging that the German liberals are distributing "atheistic literature" and holding "atheistic youth dedication ceremonies". His eminence is apparently jealous of the freethinkers' success. If he isn't laughed out of court, I think I'll send Herr Doktor Adenauer, that good friend of the clergy, a nasty valentine.

Between 100,000 and 400,000 persons, although estimates vary, demonstrated in Paris on June 19th against a recent law granting state aid to parochial schools. The same day, 30,000 delegates attending a meeting of the anticlerical National Committee for Lay Action heard the president of the National Union of Public School Teachers report that more than ten million Frenchmen and women have signed a petition demanding an end to public funds for parochial schools. The controversial school aid law was passed with strong support from

President de Gaulle. Mon general, isn't the Republic in bad enough shape without having the state subsidize sectarian brainwashing?

The recent letter from 342 Basque country priests to their bishops, protesting the Franco regime's police brutality and other violations of human rights, is not to be interpreted as a sign that the Spanish hierarchy is taking an interest in the sad lot of the poor campesinos. It's more than twenty years too late for that. Rather, it is either an indication that the Church is exploring ways to dissociate itself from the weakening and hated Franco regime, or it might simply be that the Basque area priests would like to lessen the displeasure of the Basques, who are a proud people of pre-Roman origin with their own language and culture, and who have never loved El Caudillo or particularly identified themselves as Spaniards.

The Bowdlerizing Of "Elmer Gantry"

by K. E. TRUELOVE, JR.

Occasionally a motion picture is produced that excites people before they see it. "Elmer Gantry" was such a movie for me.

The book, originally published in 1927, exposed the quackery of the Evangelists and Fundamentalist hypocrisy. The hypocrites of word and deed were fully displayed, those who preached but did not believe, and those who believed but did not live their own teachings. But when Hollywood finished with the hard-hitting Sinclair Lewis novel, it was transformed into a veritable mass of Christian propaganda.

The first thing that was done in the movie was to discard the first 160 and last 209 pages of the book. Then they used very little of the middle 78 pages in making the movie.

They changed the strong Atheist of the book into a Christian stereotype. He was made to kneel at prayer, and when asked about God and salvation through Jesus Christ, he wore an expression of guilt and replied that he truly wanted to believe.

As a crowning touch the movie portrayal of Elmer Gantry used the words of Robert Ingersoll time and again for the foundation of sermons, yet no indication was given as

to the source of the material.

The book, described by the "Literary Review" as: "The greatest, most vital and most penetrating study of hypocrisy that has been written since 'Voltaire,'" has been debased to the extent that hypocrisy emerges as a Christian virtue.

May we hope with Robert Ingersoll that "surely the time must come when the wealth of the world will not be wasted in the propagation of ignorant creeds and miraculous mistakes."

It would have been far better had the movie not been made. It was a mistake. I suggest that money not be wasted in seeing the movie, instead, buy the 50c Dell Pocket Book.

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Rationalism: The Road To Universal Ethics

by DR. VITALI NEGRI

The Non-Existence of Universal Ethics

Humanity is divided racially, nationally, and religiously into many groups, each of which recognizes only its own particular brand of morals and ethical standards as correct, while managing either to ignore or condemn any other system of ethics which differs from its own.

However, whether in agreement or not, all forms of ethics are concerned with the same subject, namely, man's conduct: his pursuit of happiness, his various duties and obligations within the framework of society, even including the disposal of his mortal remains. All of them, as well as the meanings of virtue and vice which helped fashion them, were determined at some time or other by state or religious authorities who held power autocratically or by majority election. We may say, therefore, that alteration, reversal, or a complete change of standards is possible either by revolution or the casting of a new vote.

We may say, also, that no existing legalities, religions, or ethics of man are universally recognized. Inasmuch as each independent country, state, or religion may create its own laws without relation or obligation to other existing countries, states, or religions, it follows that the rules under which men govern their morality, fulfill their obligations, and, in fact, perform all the duties of life, cannot be perfect or permanent. They are, instead, but temporary makeshifts, representing the opinions and enforcements of those who "dressed in a little brief authority" appear for a short time upon the stage of life, some unethical and vicious, some noble and kindly, but all shifting with the sands of time.

We see, thereby, that justice, virtue, ethics, and even happiness, as viewed by one group may take opposite meanings when viewed by another and that Socrates was not amiss in his persistent ironic questioning or his insistence upon a specific definition of terms.

What is piety, impiety, nobility, baseness, justice, injustice, temperance, madness, truth and error? What is a State and by what right does it dictate to the individual? What is religion? What constitutes the right of one religion to dispute the authority of another? What is "divine right"? Why should one man rule over others, or decide for them what is right or wrong? Who can determine as to

the validity of the ethics of any group or person? By what means does an inquiring mind decide between fact and fallacy?

No state and no religion, before formulating its laws, exhaustively searches for interpretations of terms which are based only upon universal and eternal rightness. Social conduct and legal laws are outgrowths of history steeped in wars between nations and between social classes whose codes of behavior are recurrently interwoven and interspersed with emotional prejudices hoary with age and ignorance. Religious laws are born of the voices of individuals who claim "divine authority" and who emphasize the necessity of faith and belief in whatever they arbitrarily choose to declare. Therefore, neither politics nor theology, occurring singly or in combination, can be said to offer anything of permanent worth to the discovery of a universal code of ethics.

Rationalism in Search of Truth

When we search into the wisdom of the ages as gleaned from all countries throughout all the ages of man's accumulation of knowledge, we find there is only one method by which mankind has discovered universal truth and been able to prove his discovery to be the truth.

This one method is RATIONALISM — the practice of directing one's thinking and actions solely by the dictates of science, logic, and nature. (For explanation of the meaning and application of these attributes the reader is referred to my article, "Rationalism and the Thinking Mind," in *The American Rationalist* magazine, May-June, 1959.) Only rationalistic thinking uninfluenced by racial, national, or sectarian domination, is capable of critically sifting out the essentials and realities from man-made laws and subjecting them to logical analysis.

In searching for a code of ethics which can be universally applied, rationalism finds itself faced with two important determinations: —

1. Can there be a standard truth of right or wrong for all peoples, or can a determining action be considered "right" for one man or group of men, and "wrong" for others? And
2. Can definitions of right and wrong be based on conclusions derived from man's intellect (his use of pure reason) or must they necessarily be influenced or motivated by

emotionalism aroused, stimulated, and directed by environmental pressures such as tradition, prejudice, and custom?

In reviewing the first question, history informs us that although murder, theft, slander, polygamy, slavery, and resistance to either constitutional or sovereign authority are usually described as being wicked, immoral and unethical, we find, nevertheless, that both nations and religions have consistently committed theft, wholesale murder, and slander in the name of liberty and justice, have at some time endorsed polygamy and slavery as honorable, and have themselves been born of the struggle of resisting constitutional or sovereign authority. The words of Nietzsche, "Might makes right," are only too descriptive of the power of force in determining moral issues.

In contemplating the second question, psychology informs us that our minds are constantly influenced by a bombardment of sensory impressions which are felt either as pleasurable or unpleasurable, and defined, accordingly, as good or bad. We know that our individual reactions to sensory impressions (what the eyes see, the nose smells, the ears hear, or the body feels through outside contacts or inner sensations) are conditioned from birth onward by opinions already laid down by others. We are born to a certain environment, but we also bring to that environment certain inherited physical qualities and potential mental abilities. With these, it becomes possible for us to ascertain the weaknesses or faults of our environments, if such there are.

At this point, rationalism recognizes the necessity of differentiating between the many opposing, changeable, and arbitrary definitions of right and wrong as utilized by state and church, and the need to submit these disputations to proper analysis as employed by the instruments of rational thinking — science, logic, and nature — so that by and with these instruments a universal ethics, applicable by all mankind regardless of race or geographic locale, may be established.

Ethical Understanding Not Gained from Force, Fear, or Legality

It is useless to believe that morals or ethics enforced by legislation or by religious commandments to which penalties are attached for non-compliance, have anything to do with the true status of an individual's ethical understanding. It is one thing to scare a man into a certain form of behavior and another to have him act that way because his intellect has approved it as rationally correct.

Once a law is enacted either by state or

church, there are many individuals who thereafter refuse to examine it critically — a course of action due, usually, to apathy or fear of punishment. Reasoning as to what is ethical or unethical is often forbidden by religion, which leaves all decisions to be interpreted by divine revelation and declares that man's wisest course is conformance to the prescribed behavior of church dicta. The fate of some in seeking a universal law to replace irrational and arbitrary church or state laws has been seen in the deaths of such men as Socrates and Bruno, and in excommunication and maligning of Spinoza.

Men and women the world over, allow themselves to obey blindly the dictates of legal and church laws without once giving thought as to whether or not such laws are rationally acceptable. Gambling, although legal in Nevada, is forbidden in other states. As a result, ethical behavior is interpreted by some as the restraint of **not** gambling when in states other than Nevada. The question of whether the practice of gambling is itself ethical, apart from its legal status, is not even considered.

Scientific birth control, although recommended by the social sciences and some governments and churches, is forbidden by the Roman Catholic church, as is divorce or remarriage following divorce. Such practices as legal abortion, controlled sex cohabitation for men serving penal sentences, and the abolishment of capital punishment are observed in some countries, but forbidden in others. The right of the individual to criticize government or church is enjoyed now in those lands free of dictatorship, under either state or church, yet there were thousands of years when this liberty did not exist in any land. What does this indicate? That all of these laws, made for the purpose of influencing human behavior, are in no way universal, and that man is a fool to close his eyes, ears, and mind, refusing to examine, investigate, or reason, because there exists a law which tells him that he must do so.

Ethics as Defined by Rationalism

Rationalism seeks to ascertain and explain by pure reason the difference between right and wrong. It considers neither the will of state nor church to be unassailable. It demands, as the privilege of all men, the authority to review and criticize all assertions and laws. It insists that the impersonal tools of science, logic and nature, as the means of ascertaining truth, are open to all who are willing to acquire the information and knowledge by which proof of statements and ideas may be exacted.

It insists that the validity of ethics cannot be based upon man's inner feelings and emotions alone, for these often are but responses of the senses to either fulfillment or denial of desires that have in no way been subjected to rationalistic deliberation or analysis. It holds that moral regulations which are applicable only to one locale or group are unjustifiable, for as truth is one, so the essence of ethics must be one for all peoples.

Rationalism would inquire of the ascetic who severely disciplines himself by renouncing all pleasures and continually mortifying his body, wherein is such conduct ethical? In what way does self-inflicted pain denote an ideal of human behavior, or a sane and sound mind, or a path of mental and physical progress for humanity? Theology may attempt to glorify such actions, while the church (according to its own self-granted but delusional authority) may take steps to raise certain of the perpetrators of these acts to "sainthood," but rationalism would be forced to challenge the sanity of the act, the actor, and their sponsor.

As the intellect is the supreme thinking faculty of the human brain, and as wisdom can only evolve by the mind's use of reason, it is necessary for all men to determine the stability and worth of all ideas — a determination which necessarily includes an understanding of the genesis or motivation of the idea, as well as its purpose. Morals, as ideas, must therefore be examined in light of reason.

Sexual morality, modesty, piety, virtue, righteousness, happiness, justice, good, and evil are all terms which are conceived differently by different peoples. Realizing this, it becomes mandatory that any path which would hope to reach a universally accepted code of ethics must follow a method of deliberation guided by unadulterated rationalism. Tradition, custom, and laws, whether personal, racial, national or religious, must not be considered immune to the scrutiny and criticism of reason.

Only by a new conception of ethics — a universal ethics — can humanity hope to attain harmony and progress, or, in view of the birth of our nuclear age, hope to continue its existence.

Accustom a people to believe that priests or any other class of men can forgive sins, and you will have sins in abundance.

— Thomas Paine.

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Within the ARF . . .

by RALPH S. BLOIS, Secretary,
American Rationalist Federation

At the annual convention of the American Rationalist Federation in Genoa City, Wis., in August, it was resolved that the ARF would support, raise funds for and manage an American lecture tour by Mr. Colin McCall, General Secretary of the (British) National Secular Society, during the fall of 1961. Mr. McCall is an able speaker, and his projected lecture tour should give our movement a much needed "shot in the arm," by getting our various groups to work more closely together, by providing a source of mass media publicity, and by providing an outstanding speaker for small and developing Rationalist groups.

Mr. McCall, 41, an accomplished speaker, is, in addition to being General Secretary of the National Secular Society, Editor of the "Freethinker" (British) and Assistant Sec'y of the World Union of Freethinkers. Mr. McCall hails from Lancashire, was fortunate to have had freethinking parents and graduated from Manchester University. He has been a member of the NSS since his early teens and has written for the "Freethinker" since 1939.

The ARF will handle all details of the tour and will arrange speaking engagements with all interested Rationalist, Humanist, Unitarian and other liberal groups. All groups interested in presenting an appearance by Mr. McCall during the month of October, 1961, are urged to contact Ralph S. Blois, American Rationalist Federation, P.O. Box 255, Rockford, Illinois.

Another resolution passed at the ARF convention in August reads: "In the interest of freedom of speech, be it resolved that this Convention go on record as protesting the action taken against Dr. Leo F. Koch by the University of Illinois. Be it further resolved that the American Rationalist Federation shall give both financial and moral aid to Dr. Koch in his forthcoming court case to help secure the right to freedom of speech so precious to all free Americans."

As the Koch case was written up in Edd Doerr's column in the Sept.-Oct. 1960 issue of the "Rationalist" I need not review the details. The ARF supports Dr. Koch in his stand for freedom of expression — the right not to be suppressed. At a recent ARF Executive board meeting, it was decided that the ARF would not conduct a separate fi-

nancial appeal, as we did recently for Mrs. Vashti McCollum (See Sept.-Oct. 1960 AR), but rather would recommend that all Rationalists and other persons interested in the preservation of civil liberties donate to an already existing Koch Fund held by the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union. Further information can be obtained from Dr. Leo Koch, 1212 Garden Hills Drive, Champaign, Illinois. ARF will follow the case closely, and if the need arises, will take such action as seems necessary.

Since this column is being written only two weeks after the one appearing in the Sept.-Oct. issue, we have no news to report on the organization of new groups. Actually, we are in urgent need of leaders in many cities and states to act as contact men and temporary secretaries. If you are willing to help organize new ARF groups, please contact ARF Vice-President Clifford Knowlton, 5737 Aladdin Ave., Los Angeles 8, California, for details. You are needed now. We have the names of hundreds of Rationalists who want to join local groups, but we have very few names of persons with time and interest enough to act as contacts or secretaries in order to organize these hundreds of people. We need volunteers, and those who haven't enough interest to help cannot complain if nothing is being done.

There is one thing that has irked me for some time — here is a chance to get it off my chest. Many people are under the false impression that the ARF and AR magazine are the same group, or at least connected in some manner. There is no connection, despite the similarity of names, and our close cooperation. The ARF would like to have this type of cooperation with ALL freethought magazines. There is no more connection between AR and ARF than between ARF and Joseph Lewis's Freethinkers of America, for example. The ARF publishes no magazine except its membership bulletin, Rationalist News. Four affiliated societies publish magazines, they are: "The Liberal," "Voice of Freedom," the "Věk Rozumu," and "Secular Subjects." These four are the only magazines that could more or less be called ARF magazines. If you would like more information and a copy of "What is the ARF?" write to American Rationalist Federation, P.O. Box 255, Rockford, Illinois.

Russian Progress Can't Be Denied

by DREW PEARSON

The most important deduction to be drawn from Nikita Khrushchev's trip to the United States is that he was telling the truth.

The American people have got into the habit of discounting soviet statements. In most recent years, American military observers have not. They have found that soviet statements on military and scientific matters are bolstered by fact. The public, therefore, in making a final evaluation of the most historic visit of any personage in this century, should not discount Khrushchev's statements on two important points:

1—That the Soviet Union wants peace.

2—That Russia is determined to overtake the United States industrially and economically, and to demonstrate that communism is better than capitalism.

When Khrushchev, in his farewell statement, said that today's rich America has reached "the ceiling of achievement in the capitalistic world" — that Russia will surpass us in 10 to 12 years, there is no reason to doubt that he was and is determined to make those words come true.

He was telling the truth as he sees it.

The big question now is "What are we going to do about Khrushchev's challenge?" Here are some points to consider:

1—We have to recognize the fact that the heart of the capitalistic system is free competition and, therefore, we cannot ignore the competitive challenge of Khrushchev.

British Defeated

For approximately 100 years we experienced a tough competitive challenge from the British empire. We weathered and won that competition. Today, will we go the way of the British, or will we beat Nikita at his own game?

2—We cannot keep our heads in the sands of ignorance and expect to thwart the Khrushchev challenge.

It doesn't pay to brand as unpatriotic anyone who warns that Russia is pushing ahead. The fact is that Russia is ahead of or equal to us in the following:

MISSILES — According to a statement of Secretary of Defense McElroy, we have no plan for catching up with Russia in the long-range intercontinental ballistic missile. According to Adm. Arleigh Burke, chief of naval operations, we are dangerously behind Russia

in the ability to launch underwater missiles from submarines.

SATELLITES — According to Keith Glennan, head of the National Aeronautics and Space administration, we are far behind Russia in launching satellites, and, according to Werner von Braun, the famous scientist, it will take us several years to catch up.

HYDROELECTRIC POWER — According to the Senate interior committee Russia has five hydroelectric power projects far bigger than our biggest, Grand Coulee dam.

AVIATION — Not only was Russia the first to fly a jet passenger plane to the United States, but our air intelligence tells us that she is ahead of us in combat air strength.

Further, Russia is catching up with us in the following:

EDUCATION — The United States office of education reported amazing progress in Russian schools and teaching.

MEDICINE — USA doctors visiting Moscow report that in some respects Russian medical science is abreast or even ahead of ours.

OUR FARM PRODUCTION — general industrial production, and the output of consumer goods still are well ahead of Russia's. But if Khrushchev is able, thru a period of peace, to switch from war production to peace production, he may give us a real run for our money.

Planned Economy

We have to face the fact that Russia operates with a plan; we don't. We tighten credit one month to control inflation, loosen credit the next. We appropriate too much money one year, cut the budget too much the next. Meanwhile, Russia pushes ahead with a planned economy.

That is the challenge Nikita Khrushchev has laid down, and that is the most important meaning of his visit.

—Chicago American

AS THE MONTHS ROLL BY . . .

Yes, the months roll by and November is here again. The New Year is just around the corner, reminding me to tell our friends that it is time again to send their New Year Greetings to the American Rationalist. If you want your greeting to appear in the January issue, you will have to beat the deadline . . . that means the 1st of December. So, dear folks, let's have the pages of the next issue of the AR filled with pages of greetings . . . How about it?

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THE WIDE, WIDE MOVEMENT

by ELDON SCHOLL



All organizations are urged to send in their news, programs, activities, elections, socials, past or future, and pictures of meetings, officers or members, or anything of interest to Rationalists.

The staff of the "American Rationalist" welcomes Edd Doerr as its new editor. He is the third editor in our short history, which is somewhat unusual for Rationalist journals, but we trust that all changes are for the betterment of the magazine. We also hope that our readers will continue to support the "Rationalist" by sending us renewal subscriptions, financial contributions — (without which we cannot grow and expand) and gift subscriptions for friends. If you will send us the names of prospective subscribers, we will see to it that they are sent samples of the magazine.

Edd Doerr is a young, ambitious fellow with lots of quality and a big future. He was born in 1930, is married and has two small children. He survived eleven years of parochial school brainwashing and became aware of his true rationalist-Humanist philosophy around the age of eighteen. He attended Butler University and graduated from Indiana University with majors in Education, Social Studies, Sociology and Psychology.

After "wasting" several years in business, he entered the social work and teaching professions . . . even spending some time teaching in South America. He is currently teaching high school History — Government and English.

Mr. Doerr is a prolific writer and has had about 400 articles, reviews, short stories, poems and letters published in the following journals: — American Rationalist, Progressive World, The Liberal, The Humanist, Humanist World Digest, Computers and Automation, Fantastic Universe Science Fiction, The Independent, La Revista de la Universidad de Los Andes, The Christian Science Monitor, and elsewhere.

As our new editor, he will be interested in serving the entire Rationalist - Humanist movement

by promoting greater cooperation among Rationalists, Humanists, Freethinkers, Unitarians, Universalists, Ethicals and other liberals, for the purpose of preserving and preserving and extending humanistic ideals and values, and of promoting greater reliance upon science and reason, as opposed to blind tradition or religious or political authoritarianism. He believes that the "Rationalist" should tackle all human problems and go about this in a manner which does not duplicate the efforts of other publications.

The annual convention of the American Rationalist Federation was again held at the Recreation Camp at Genoa City, Wisconsin. Last year's convention was mainly centered about business meetings and might have been a bit boring for newcomers, but this year's meetings were enlivened by a series of speeches. A kit, containing a copy of the ARF constitution, copies of resolutions submitted and a note pad, was given to each delegate and visitor. As usual, there was not enough time for everyone to meet and make friends with everyone else, but a good time was had by all and a great deal was accomplished. An important address was delivered by Dr. Hermann J. Muller, distinguished Nobel prize geneticist from Indiana University and a former president of the American Humanist Association. His address will be printed in the "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists" and perhaps also in the "Rationalist."

At the convention, your reporter made the interesting observation that a number of Rationalists are in favor of Senator Kennedy for President. Our new editor reports that a liberal friend said that he favors the election of Mr. Kennedy — as a senator from Massachusetts. While some shook their heads about the next election, others seemed to have made up their minds not to vote at all in November. Opinion was divided on the subject, some of our Rationalists apparently not fearing the possible consequences of the election of a Roman Catholic President, who might well appoint Justices to the Supreme Court who would not uphold our tradition of church-state separation or who might not veto Congressional attempts to obtain federal funds for parochial schools.

At the annual meeting of the

Rationalist Association, publishers of the American Rationalist, which was also held at Genoa City, in Wisconsin, in August, Edd Doerr was elected editor of this journal, and the officers for the Association elected for the coming year were: Ottokar Soukup, Pres.; Pat O'Connor, Sec'y-Treas.; Arthur B. Hewson, Vice-Pres.; Victor Cejka and Eldon Scholl, Trustees.

The CONGRESS OF BALANCED LIVING, which met in St. Louis in August, chalked up a number of firsts for Rationalism. For the first time the subject of religion was discussed on a college campus where the Rationalist-Ethical-Humanist position was given a major emphasis. The American Rationalist Federation was ably represented by its treasurer, R. Dannells, who presented an address on "Rationalism and Life." Eldon Scholl spoke briefly on the subject, "Organized Rationalism." Many of the 200 persons present during the three days of meetings heard about Rationalism-Humanism for the first time and the literature table, piled with copies of the "Rationalist," was soon bare. We even had to dig up copies two or more years old to keep the table supplied. Washington University, where the Congress met in air conditioned rooms in a new building, is the only university that recognizes (officially) Humanist activity, and for that we can thank Dr. John J. Kessler, who helped organize the Congress and who represents Humanism on the religious advisory board of Washington U. Six workshops were held on Saturday, on Esperanto, Balanced Living, Mental Health, Semantics, World Affairs, and World Re-

ligions. Some participants, "floating" from one workshop to another, reported that it was an amazing Congress, covering most everything from the preparation of carrots to how to combat Communism! There were vegetarians, Henry Georgists, a talk by a rabbi, a speech by a Unitarian — the most varied meeting imaginable. One Christian blew his top and said it wasn't fair to allow a Unitarian to define Christianity when most Christians did not care to call Unitarians "Christians." Dr. Kessler advised him that we have been hearing the Christian side for years and that he could attend any of 600 churches on Sunday morn to hear the Christian point of view, but that this was a meeting on religion in general and not on Christian doctrine. — Mildred Loomis, editor of "Balanced Living," and originator of the Congress (of which this one was the fifth), spoke about a modern homesteading way of living, by doing most of everything in, on and around a small plot of ground, with less dependency upon our organized society, yet nothing like ascetism; this is a style of life with electricity, deep freezers and all the modern conveniences. She did not have time to really explain in detail, although several present did give testimonials to this way of life.

Some participants live near St. Louis and others came from as far as Chicago and the "deep South." One Christian woman from Louisiana was not impressed by the "irreligion" expressed at the Congress and said so. A man from the audience, not questioning her directly, referred to the attitude of the South on race relations, but the lady from the

State of Louisiana had no reply. One of the two Negroes present was, interestingly, an instructor at the University of Chicago who mentioned that there was a group of Rationalists at the University, numbering some forty persons, holding regular meetings.

The Congress featured twenty five major prepared talks and left room for many other shorter talks and discussions. It was the most unusual meeting your reporter has ever attended and it will be repeated in St. Louis next year, probably under the management of Dr. John Kessler, who should be commended for his fine work. This was a meeting of all kinds of people with all kinds of ideas, a tremendously stimulating meeting.

Ralph Blois' "Fact" newsletter notes that it would be foolish to "sell out" the country just to spite Mr. Nixon. He says that we can "outlive Nixon, but not the Catholic hierarchy." "Fact" also notes that although Mr. Kennedy might be subject to less pressure than a non-Catholic President, it would be a mistake to attach too much significance to the fact that Mr. Kennedy not long ago voted against a Senate bill provision which would give public funds to parochial schools, for when Mr. Kennedy served in the House of Representatives he introduced a bill that would have granted a

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percentage of federal funds for parochial school use as well as for public schools. On August 1, 1949, he introduced in the 81st Congress H.R. 5838, known as the Educational Finance Act of 1949. The bill was never reported out of the Education and Labor Committee. When Mr. Kennedy makes a strong statement in favor of church-state separation, could he not be taking the Catholic view, which favors the "fringe benefits" which we know are but a stepping stone toward complete support of parochial education (or parochial miseducation, for education and indoctrination are really poles apart) by the public?

Prominent Los Angeles attorney Dr. Arthur E. Briggs, leader of the Los Angeles Ethical Culture Society, Dean of the Metropolitan University Law School and former member of the Los Angeles City Council, spoke before the Free-thinkers of Southern California on the subject of "Irrationalism Today." At their September meeting, Dr. Albert S. Hand, former professor of Philosophy at Wilberforce University, Ohio, spoke on "How Freethought Philosophy May Be Utilized To Relieve Us Of Our Social, Political And Economic Tensions."

The Indianapolis Chapter of the American Humanist Association, of which your new editor is a Vice-President, has been featuring a series of films and talks on General Semantics.

At the American Institute of Universal Ethics in Los Angeles, Dr. Vitali Negri spoke on "The Mechanism of the Mind in Fabricating Superstition."

A welcoming dinner held in the banquet room of the Mayan Hotel by the Freethinkers of Southern California honored Arthur B. Hewson, visiting from Chicago. Mr. Hewson, formerly Business Mgr. for the Rationalist Association and now its Vice-President, was applauded for his philosophical address. The ten point program printed in the July-August issue of the "Rationalist" was officially accepted by the Freethinkers and was incorporated into their policy and platform.

Attorney Donald H. Sweet, who spoke at the banquet of the ARF convention, gave a talk before the West Suburban Rationalists at Downers Grove, Illinois, on the

subject, "World Enemy No. 1: The Population Explosion." This group meets every second and fourth Friday night each month.

Ralph Blois, ARF Secretary, visited St. Louis and discussed the projected Colin McCall tour. The Rationalist Society of St. Louis received a check for \$100 from the will of late member Hattie Cooke.

New officers elected at the annual business meeting of the Secularist Society of Southern California are: Oscar Kolen, Pres.; E. S. Lodge, Vice-Pres.; Martin Howe, 2nd Vice-Pres.; Irene Thor, Recording Sec'y; Joseph Ramsperger, Corres. Sec'y; Elizabeth Fowler, Sec'y-Treas.; Mildred Pounds, Asst Sec'y-Treas.; and Culbert L. Olsen, Parliamentarian.

All non-Catholics will benefit from a survey being conducted by a Protestant on how and why Catholics decide to leave the RC Church. The information should be of value for any group looking for converts and may save time and expense. An article published in a Protestant magazine was based upon interviews with former Catholics. Now a book will be written on a larger scope. Less than thirty questions are asked in the questionnaire. No names are used. Ex-Catholics are urged to write to Russell O. Berg, 457 9th St., Brooklyn 15, New York, for the questionnaire. Some questions merely require a yes or no answer, others may be answered in detail.

Lee Meriweather, who spoke before the Rationalist Society of St. Louis a few years ago on "Why I am an Atheist," and who received considerable publicity for this speech, has incorporated letters received from friends on the subject into a new book entitled "My First 98 Years, 1862-1960." Mr. Meriweather, who saw Mark Twain while he was writing "Tom Sawyer," and who knew Jefferson Davis, writes about a full life of interesting experiences. The book may be purchased from the AR Book Service for \$4.00.

The American Life Science Foundation is currently circulating a questionnaire for the purpose of ascertaining the desires and interests of Rationalists who would like to retire to a home for Rationalists and other liberals in California. All interested persons are invited to write for a question-

naire to the Foundation at 1028 South Wilton Place, Los Angeles 19, California. — Answering the questionnaire places no one under any obligation; the Foundation simply wishes information upon which to base its decisions regarding size, location and design of the home, which will be established somewhere in California.

If you have seen the new movie, "Elmer Gantry," you will agree that it should cure many, many Protestants of going to revivals. It is a powerful film, and while it does not adhere to the entire book by Sinclair Lewis, it probably does nearly as well to demonstrate the errors of organized traditional religion, of the fundamentalist type, and does a fine job of portraying the agnostic reporter who corners the woman revivalist to the point where she cannot answer simple questions concerning her intentions and motives. Recommend this movie to your more orthodox friends; the results might be very interesting.

The 3rd International Congress of the International Humanist and Ethical Union was held in August in Oslo, Norway.

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BOOKS

"MY PHILOSOPHICAL DEVELOPMENT" by Bertrand Russell

Mr. Russell tells the evolution of his thought life from his adolescence on. He explains how his ideas have varied from time to time and how certain philosophers have influenced him.

A great many topics are covered, and Russell tries to make clear his present position on each. He considers the natures of meaning, classes, numbers, and mind. He discusses words, relations, truth, probability, knowledge, and generalization. I should say this book gives a valuable summary and explanation of the rationalist philosopher's principal ideas, other than social.

In a book that deals with so many things it is impossible for a thinker to find everything agreeable, or disagreeable either. It is unlikely that many will find it all of equal interest or clarity, although the author's pleasantly ironic humor lightens the burden of his passages on abstract problems.

The sincerity of Russell's attempts to make himself understood and to get at the bottom of all that he probes is always refreshing.

— Harry E. Mongold

Simon and Schuster, 1959, \$3.75. Order from AR Book Service.

"HISTORY OF ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY" by W. Windelband

This book is a wholesome introduction to classical philosophy — a forthright example of the traditional German thoroughness and precision. It is a translation by H. E. Cushman of the second German edition of a classic of some decades ago.

Briefly, this book provides an insight to the intellectual life of the sixth and seventh centuries B. C. in ancient Greece. Enough details are given of the great thinkers, their work, and accomplishments during that period to enable one to become familiar with their concepts and thoughts. A philosophy which is condensed, evaluated, digested, and made ready for reference or for pleasant and informative reading.

It reveals too, how scientific thought had its origin and provides a resume of what it took in effort, foresight, thinking, and observation to arrive at concepts which we assume as our own today.

Without doubt, reading and utilization of this factual material will greatly enrich rational logic and thinking.

— Louis Hlavacek

Dover paperbound edition, \$1.85. Order from AR Book Service.

"ROAD OF PROPAGANDA" by Karvin Döring

The methods discussed in this book have been called "Quantitative Semantics." The author states that insight into the communication process, with all its different purposes, reveals that the quantity of slanted semantics in the language is what makes

it biased. — This biased communication is the propaganda. It tries to slant communication to the interest of the communicator; it tries to create an interest in the person getting the message that matches the interest of the communicator.

The communication is often labeled truth. When we broadcast communication to Russia we call it truth. When Russia broadcasts to us we call it propaganda. This is why propaganda is slanted semantics. Propaganda appeals to public interest and involves communicator's strategy.

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Sometimes the problem of laying the ghost of a former hero requires a communicative skill on the part of his successor. The recent de-Stalinization drive from the talkative Krushchev illustrates this. As has been said elsewhere, all symbols die — eventually — but die hard. Key symbols make people feel at home. They are the most reliable bases for public appeals. They are used to accomplish the public's psychological softening, or, if you prefer, hardening. The term "brain washing" might just as well read "brain dirtying."

An awareness of propaganda, states the writer, tends to make the mass public skeptical of it all, but only in the sense it helps them to weigh carefully.

Dr. Dovring, a Swedish scholar and journalist, spent several years in the United States, where she researched for this book.

— John J. Kessler.

Philosophical Library, \$4.75. Order from AR Book Service.

* * *

INTERNATIONAL FREETHOUGHT ANNUAL

Edited by Alice Haldeman - Julius

This is a fine volume of essays on many subjects by leading Rationalist thinkers. The first paper advises Rationalists to oppose the churches on specific social issues where necessary and thereby gain in strength among people who see more need for reform than arguing about gods. The last essay, by Haldane, is largely a satire, and he suggests that we investigate the social and economic basis of religions rather than depend on intellectual arguments to increase our following.

Joad discourses on education in ideas, semantics, and other "useless" matters, by which he means things that are usually not of immediate use in earning a living. Whyte declares that "good nature is not enough," referring to personality. Bullett presents a dialogue on the punishment of crime. There are reminiscences about Herbert Spencer and a sketch of Thomas Paine. The notion of immortality, how to deal with the desire for happiness, the status of democracy, and two score other topics makes this an excellent 120 pages of reading.

— Harry E. Mongold

\$1.00. Order from AR Book Service.

* * *

SHORT REVIEWS

"The Unity of Body and Mind"

Bickel, Philosophical Library, \$3.75. A pupil of Brunner, recent German philosopher, describes everything as motion, and mind as a body function. Not easy reading.

* * *

"Francisco Romero on Problems of Philosophy,"

Harris, Philosophical Library, \$3.75. Well written description of the attitudes and thoughts of a prominent Argentinian. Psychology on an abstract level. Romero emphasizes that understanding of the thoughts of other philosophers leads one to new insights about human nature.

* * *

"A Philosophical Theory of Life, Before, Present, and After"

Pryor, Vantage, \$2.75. Especially interested in the notion that what one means by "God" is his own Subconscious (which Pryor calls the "subjective mind").

Order from AR Book Service.

"THE PROFITS OF RELIGION"

by Upton Sinclair

This is a reprint of the famous book which forced Holy Trinity Church in New York to dispose of and/or clean up its rotten tenements where so much of its money came from. We see here how superstition of an unenlightened people is used to support priests and ministers who are blind to the misery of their constituents and accept readily an easy way to live (for themselves).

— Kay Vining

Haldeman-Julius Publications, 141 pp., \$2.00.

Order from AR Book Service.

* * *

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Francisco Romero on Problems of Philosophy," Harris, Philosophical Library.

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"A Philosophical Theory of Life, Before, Present and After," Pryor, Vantage.

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"The Unity of Body and Mind," Lothar, Bickel, Philosophical Library.

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